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ABSTRACT

A study focused on the relationships of (1) youth's perceptions of hiring and disciplinary standards, (2) their work supervisors' reports of those standards, and (3) selected antecedents and employment outcomes associated with employability development programs. Through questionnaires, data were collected at the beginning and end of the 1981-82 school year from a sample of 1,135 youth participants of employability development programs from metropolitan areas nationwide, from nonprogram employed and nonemployed youth, and from worksite supervisors. The relationship between pre-program perceptions, hiring and disciplinary standards, and post-program perceptions was significant and positive. Personal characteristics related to perceptions of hiring practices were age, study (taking courses in academic subjects), and work experience. Those related to perceptions of disciplinary standards were the amount of work experience and the youth's reservation wage (the minimum acceptable wage for future jobs). Firm and job characteristics were not related to changes in perceptions of the hiring standards. Those significantly related to differences between youth's perceptions and supervisors' reports of disciplinary standards were firm size, cost of equipment used, and wages. Differences between youth and supervisors on standards were significant but not large. The 17 hiring and disciplinary standards that youth consistently undervalued fell into three categories: basic academic skills, work attitudes and personal characteristics, and productivity. (Program profiles and an instrument are appended.) (YLB)

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YOUTH'S PERCEPTIONS OF EMPLOYER HIRING AND DISCIPLINARY STANDARDS

Executive Summary
Employability Factors Study

Studies in Employment and Training Policy: No. 2

by

Richard J. Miguel

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FOREWORD

Policymakers and practitioners in the employment and training field have devoted considerable attention in recent years to problems associated with high youth unemployment. Analysis of these problems reveals a complicated set of factors, the relationship of which is not clearly understood. On the demand side of the issue, solutions seem to be in finding ways to increase the number of job openings for youth. On the supply side, solutions are seen in improving the employability of the youth themselves. The Employability Factors Study is part of a larger research program that simultaneously examines the relationship between demand and supply variables and youth employability. Specifically, this study focuses on youth's perceptions of employer hiring and disciplinary standards, possible determinants of youth's perceptions, changes in perceptions resulting from participating in employability development programs and work experiences, and relationships of youth's perceptions to employers' reports of their hiring and disciplinary standards. Future work will concern relationships of youth's perceptions to employment outcomes one year after high school. The researchers use a work socialization framework to guide the inquiry and to determine the implications of the findings for the improvement of employment and training of youth.

We wish to express our gratitude to the National Institute of Education for sponsoring this study and to Ronald Bucknam, the project officer, for his guidance and support. We want to thank the members of the Research Division's advisory committee for their suggestions in the development and execution of the study. The committee consists of Howard Rosen, Chairperson; William Brooks, General Motors; José Cardenas, Intercultural Developmental Research Association; David Clark, Indiana University; Ellen Greenberger, University of California, Irvine; Charles Knapp, Tulane University; Marion Pines, Mayor's Office of Manpower Resources, Baltimore; Peter Rossi, University of Massachusetts; Beatrice Reubens, Columbia University; Henrietta Schwartz, San Francisco State University; and Lana Wertz, Aetna Life and Casualty. We also wish to thank the following individuals who provided insightful critiques of this report of the preliminary findings: Howard Rosen and Henrietta Schwartz of the advisory committee; Joseph Grannis, Professor of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University; and Ida Halasz and Catherine King-Fitch of the National Center.

Finally, we wish to thank all the students, employers, and staff associated with the employability development programs and the schools participating in the study. While our assurances of anonymity preclude mentioning their names, we nevertheless want to express our sincere appreciation for the time and cooperation they extended to the research staff.

Recognition is due to John Bishop, the National Center's Associate Director for Research, for overseeing the study; Richard Miguel for directing the study; James Weber for the analysis of data; Lisa Chiteji, Program Associate, and Robert Foulk, Graduate Research Associate, for their assistance in data collection, processing, and analysis; Catherine King-Fitch for editorial assistance; and Jacque Masters for typing the report.

Robert E. Taylor
Executive Director
The National Center for Research
in Vocational Education

FOCUS OF THE STUDY

Considerable attention has been given in recent years to the employment problems of youth. There has been concern not only with the high unemployment rates of youth but also with their perceived inadequacies regarding employability and the long-term effects of those inadequacies on future employment. Freeman (1980) suggests that the employment problems of youth can be viewed from either a demand-side or a supply-side perspective. This study concerns the latter, but not because we subscribe to the notion that youth and their deficiencies are the problem. Instead, we have focused on supply-side issues because we believe that an inordinate amount of policy and practice is based on the premises that youth are deficient in certain worker attributes and that youth employability will be ameliorated by rectifying those deficits. It is not our intention to refute these premises. However, there is little conclusive empirical evidence regarding how these worker attributes relate to employability and what is involved in developing them. Even less empirical evidence is available to demonstrate that employability development efforts have been effective in this regard.

In particular, this study focuses on perceptions of worker attributes that youth need to get and keep jobs. We are interested in the determinants of youth's perceptions, how those perceptions relate to their supervisors' reports of hiring and disciplinary standards, and how youth's perceptions change as a result of education, training, and work experiences. Ultimately, we are interested in understanding better how youth's perceptions of desired worker attributes relate to employment outcomes.

In preparing this report, we have used several terms that require some explanation. Youth refers to individuals from the ages of fourteen to twenty-four. Disadvantaged youth refers to those individuals experiencing the most difficulty with employability, that is, obtaining and maintaining employment that leads to self-sufficiency. Worker attributes is an inclusive term that refers to skills, attitudes, work habits, and other factors associated with getting and keeping jobs. Employer hiring and disciplinary standards refers to worksite supervisors' evaluations of worker attributes in making decisions whether or not to hire or fire employees. Perceptions of employer standards refers to an individual's understanding of the importance of selected worker attributes in employers' hiring and on-the-job disciplinary decisions.

THE PROBLEM AND THE SETTING

There are many claims and some evidence, although mixed, that youth are indeed poorly prepared for work (Ginzberg 1980). Many lack an adequate orientation to work and have limited competencies. However, the fact that most youth eventually do become established in the labor market (Ginzberg 1980, Freeman 1980) suggests that most of their problems in getting and keeping jobs get solved. Nevertheless, substantial differences exist among youth in the rate at which they obtain jobs and in the quality of the jobs they obtain.

Steinberg and Greenberger (1979) suggest that treating the problems of early adolescent employment at any one level of analysis, to the exclusion of others, can seriously distort our understanding of the phenomenon and the implications that can be drawn from it. It seems that this is often the case. Those who view the problems of youth employability as being caused by youth's negative attitudes, lack of motivation, and work ethics often believe that those problems can be made to disappear by getting youth to adopt the attitudes and values espoused by employers. Similarly, they simplistically believe that training and work experience alone will rectify the situation. The larger issues of socialization to work, which are appropriate to such a solution (Anderson and Sawhill 1980), are frequently overlooked--despite the fact that such socialization forces are continuously operating whether or not they are attended to.

Bandura (1982) suggests that individuals often do not behave optimally even though they may have the necessary skills and attitudes and know fully what to do. He states that perceived self-efficacy, which concerns individuals' judgments of how well they can execute courses of action, may account for behavioral variance. We believe that these and other perceptions, which are the result of many interactions with others, are crucial to understanding youth's work behavior. Do youth know what employers expect of them when they apply for a job? Are their perceptions of what they are supposed to do on the job accurate? To what extent are these perceptions related to the work norms associated with the "good" worker: self-control, self-discipline, conformity, and cooperation (Carlson 1982)?

Training aimed at socialization and resocialization to these norms and its effects on youth's perceptions of what they need to get and keep jobs must consider both the characteristics of the jobs youth get and personal characteristics (O'Leary 1972). But this often does not seem to happen. For example, minorities and women are conspicuously overrepresented in jobs that pay less and have fewer career possibilities. While many hypotheses have been brought to bear to explain why minorities and women are to blame for their dilemma, it has been found that the process of labor-force participation works to their disadvantage. Ornstein (1976) emphasizes that the impact does not descend at any one distinct point. Instead, the continuing accumulation of deficits causes some to fall further behind. Ornstein's analysis revealed a progressive increase in the deficits of blacks from their earliest experiences with family, education, and work till eight years after their first job. Anderson and Sawhill (1980) further point out that even when minorities are fully prepared for employment, they still have the greatest difficulty in obtaining jobs and remain the most disadvantaged in regard to employability.

It seems that, while many are concerned with casting blame and prescribing remedies, little attention has been given to the perspectives of youth themselves. Anderson (1980) graphically illustrates this point. Young, unskilled blacks often perceive themselves as useful only to exploitative employers in the most menial jobs. Consequently, these young blacks often will not accept work tasks and conditions that they consider demeaning. Surely, these perceptions will come into conflict with employers' demands for good work ethics and positive attitudes. Further, the resulting behaviors are

likely to confirm employers' perceptions that these young blacks lack these worker attributes. This seems to be true regardless of the employer's race.

Consequently, the involvement of youth in training and work experience for the express purpose of developing or remediating such attributes as job-seeking skills, work attitudes, and work habits without due regard for youth's perceptions of those attributes and the circumstances that surround them may result in ineffective employability development. Other researchers have found that efforts to improve upon youth's employability can have negative effects. For example, Greenberger and associates (1979, 1980, and 1982) have found that for some youth work experience during adolescence is related to lower involvement in school, development of cynical attitudes toward work, and acceptance of unethical work practices. Campbell (1971) notes that training that does not fulfill its promise can erode confidence, injure morale, and intensify already-held negative attitudes. Bahn (1973) suggests that "frontal attacks" rarely work on employability problems, since they tend to evoke "counter pressure" and unintended negative consequences.

We have discussed, albeit briefly, the problems that youth face in becoming employable and the attempts and consequences of programmatic efforts to help solve those problems. The evidence that these programs work is mixed and often nonempirical (Campbell 1971, Stromsdorfer 1980, Passmore 1982, Anderson and Sawhill 1980, National Commission for Employment Policy 1979, Bartlett 1978). Nevertheless, even when we are told of the benefits, we are still left with a very inadequate understanding of the consequences of employability development practices and, more importantly, of the determinants of those effects. We do seem to have a grasp on parts of the problem (e.g., what employers say they expect of young workers, which groups are experiencing the most difficulties, possible sources of employability problems). What is needed is knowledge regarding the links between the antecedents and the consequences. We believe that a partial solution to this problem lies in improving our understanding of youth's perceptions of employer hiring and disciplinary standards, the determinants of those perceptions, and the relationships of those perceptions to employment outcomes. Such an understanding may provide insight on such linkages.

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

In order to provide a framework for our investigation of youth's perceptions of employer hiring and disciplinary standards and of the mediating effects of those perceptions on employment outcomes, we considered various theoretical bases. We decided that some type of work socialization model would be best to illuminate our understanding of the context in which work-related perceptions operate. In developing our theoretical perspective, we turned to Van Maanen's (1976) perspective on organizational socialization as it concerns "breaking in" to work organizations because it focuses on the processes and outcomes of entry into a work organization and relates that event to earlier stages of socialization. Van Maanen views organizational socialization as a special case of adult socialization and focuses on an individual's adjustment to specific and general role demands necessary for

participation in work settings. In turn, we have conceived of adolescent socialization to work as a special case of adult socialization. Using Van Maanen's perspective, we can view initial stages of breaking in to the employment sector within the larger context of work socialization that precedes and follows these breaking-in stages. Findings from our own studies will provide a test of the assumptions on which this perspective is based.

Figure 1 illustrates our paradigm of adolescent socialization to work as we have adapted it from Van Maanen. Starting with anticipatory socialization, youth form attitudes and behaviors relevant to work, perceptions of what work organizations are likely to value, and expectations for their experiences in work settings. This is followed by entry into the workplace, which is viewed as an encounter of organizational and personal variables that impinge upon the socialization process. Depending upon the intensity and scope of the encounter, individuals are seen as changing their perceptions regarding desired worker attributes in ways that achieve harmony with those of the work organization. The consequences of this socialization process, whether positive or negative, set the stage for subsequent entry into other work organizations. For youth, this process can be repeated many times until they have crystallized vocational preferences and try to establish themselves in full-time employment with career potential. Consequently, our paradigm views breaking in to early part-time work experiences as a cyclical process contributing further to anticipatory socialization for entry into later employment.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Although the overall intent of this line of inquiry is to improve our understanding of the antecedents and outcomes of the work socialization of youth, the central focus of the investigation at this time is on the relationships of (1) youth's perceptions of hiring and disciplinary standards, (2) their work supervisors' reports of those standards, and (3) selected antecedents and employment outcomes associated with employability development programs. Specifically, the research questions addressed at this point in the investigation are four in number:

1. How do employer hiring and disciplinary standards and youth's perceptions of those standards relate to characteristics of employment firms, youth jobs, employability development programs, and the personal characteristics of youth?

2. How do the differences between supervisors' reports of the standards and youth's perceptions relate to these characteristics?

3. How does the magnitude of the differences between supervisors' reports of the standards and youth's perceptions relate to these characteristics and to youth's preprogram perceptions?

4. How do the changes in youth's perceptions relate to these characteristics and to youth's preprogram perceptions?

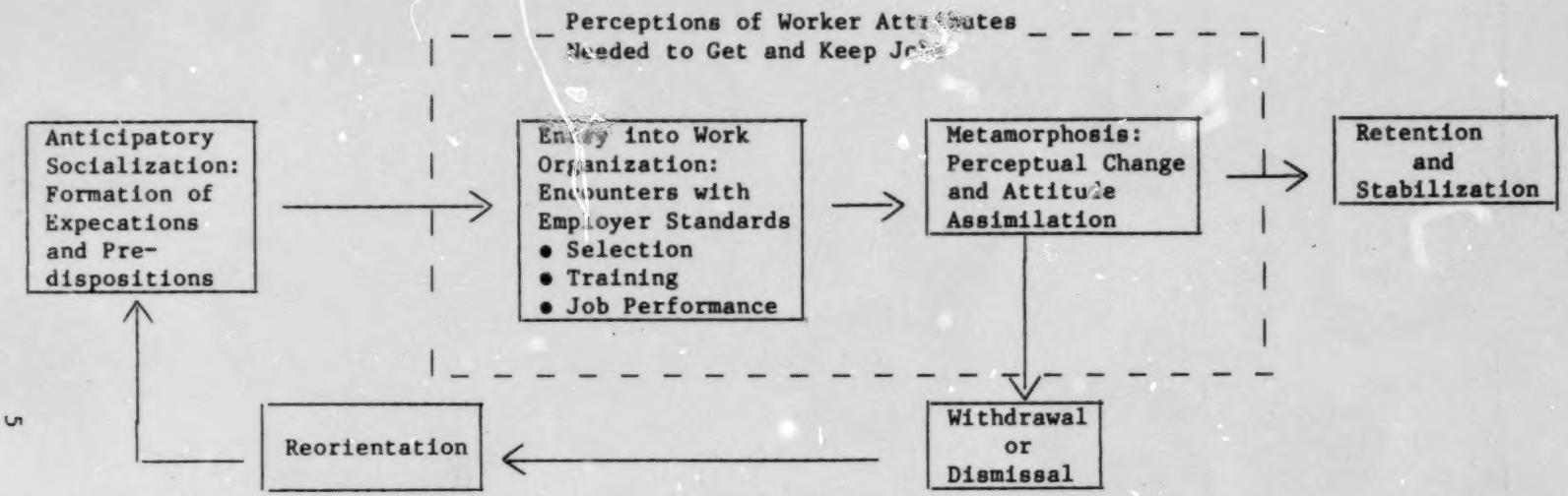
Perceptions of Worker Attributes Needed to Get and Keep Jobs
Anticipatory Socialization: Formation of Expecations and Predispositions
Entry into Work Organization: Encounters with Employer Standards
• Selection
• Training
• Job Performance
Metamorphosis: Perceptual Change and Attitude Assimilation
Retention and Stabilization
Withdrawal or Dismissal
Reorientation

Figure 1. Adolescent Socialization to Work

METHODOLOGY

The design of the study concerns pre/post employability development program participation measures of youth's perceptions of employer hiring and disciplinary standards (i.e., perceptions of the importance of selected worker attributes in getting and keeping jobs). This strategy permits comparisons among hiring and disciplinary standards reported by supervisors of youth in the sample, youth's perceptions of those standards, and employability development program staff's and academic teachers' perceptions of those standards. Figure 2 illustrates the design of the study. The design suggests a number of comparative analyses between the youth and others. Referring to the letters in the figure, relationships can be examined between (A) youth's perceptions and their supervisors' reports of the standards, (B) youth's perceptions and program staff's perceptions of the standards, (C) youth's perceptions and academic teachers' perceptions of the standards, (D) program staff's perceptions and supervisors' reports of the standards, (E) academic teachers' perceptions and supervisors' reports of the standards, and (F) program staff's perceptions and academic teachers' perceptions of the standards. The analysis reported herein concerns only the relationships between youth's perceptions and supervisors' reports of employer standards (point A in figure 2). Further analyses will be conducted in fiscal year 1983.

A survey method was used to obtain data on (1) supervisors' reports of employer hiring and disciplinary standards, (2) youth's perceptions of worker attributes required to meet those standards, and (3) characteristics of the firms employing the youth, the jobs in which the youth were employed, the employability development programs in which youth were enrolled, and the youth themselves. The youth selected for the study were participants of employability development programs. Data were collected from youth at the beginning and end of the 1981-82 school year as a means of observing pre/postprogram changes in perceptions. Employed and nonemployed youth not enrolled in employability development programs were also included for comparison purposes. Data on employer hiring and disciplinary standards were collected from the immediate supervisors of working youth in the programs and in the comparison groups toward the end of the school year or approximately at the eighth month of the youth's employment period between pre/posttesting. Data were also collected from employability development staff and academic teachers of the youth at the time of pretesting of the youth.

Sample

A principal reason for selecting this purposive sample was to provide a range of employability programs in order to be able to examine the differential effects of these programs on youth's perceptions of the employer standards. The sample pool consists of 1,135 youth from metropolitan areas in states located in the middle Atlantic, northeastern, southeastern, southern, eastern central, and middle western regions. The programs originally included were an apprenticeship program, a CETA Youth Employment and Training Program, a cooperative distributive education program, and three models of experience-based career education (EBCE). The apprenticeship program is part of a

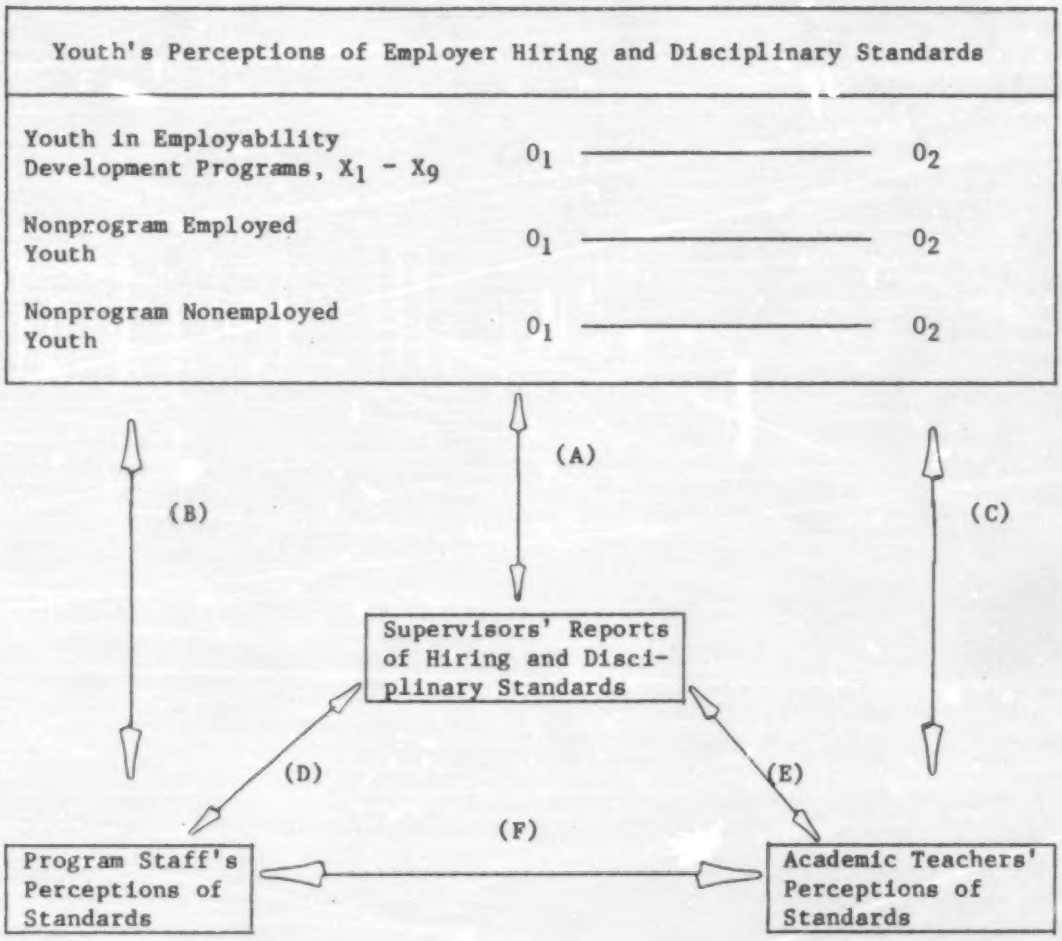

Figure 2. Design of the Study

postsecondary school. All others are part of secondary school programs. A detailed description of these programs can be found in the "Program Profiles" (see appendix A). The program participants included in the sample were all new entrants into the apprenticeship, CETA, distributive education, and EBCE programs. Program participants in three other programs (office education, work experience, and career skills centers) were added to the sample as a result of disaggregating other program students from the comparison groups.

The study called for data collection from program teachers and trainers, academic teachers, and employment supervisors of the youth. In our sample of 1,135 for whom we have time 1 and time 2 data, we have data from program staff of 737 of the youth, academic teachers of 397 of the youth, and supervisors of 414 of the youth. The preliminary analyses reported at this time included only youth and supervisors in the latter group.

Instrumentation

Separate questionnaires were prepared for each of the respondent groups. Each questionnaire consisted of two parts in order to obtain data on the independent and dependent variables. The questions on the independent variables were group specific. For youth we were interested in educational and work histories, current worksite characteristics, and family background. For worksite supervisors we were interested in firm and job characteristics and personal characteristics of the supervisors. For teacher/trainers we were interested in their roles, functions, and personal characteristics as well as nature of in-school learning activities. Demographic characteristics were also included on all questionnaires. The other part of the questionnaire concerned hiring and disciplinary standards.

Hiring Standards

The first dependent measure concerns employer standards associated with job-getting attributes. The concept of this measure is to present a set of behavioral referents about which respondents can express an evaluative opinion on the extent to which each item will influence an employer's hiring decision. A Likert-type scale was developed to permit respondents to express degrees of positive or negative influence that the behavioral referents will have on the hiring decision. The purpose of this scale is to place individuals or groups somewhere on a continuum regarding perceptions of the standard in question.

Appendix B displays the part of the instrument used to collect data from youth on their opinions of the positive or negative influence of selected behaviors on employer hiring decisions. Exactly the same behavorial referents and rating scale were used on the trainers' and employment supervisors' instruments. However, the introductory stem was changed for those respondent groups. For supervisors the stem was, "As a supervisor, how would you be influenced to hire someone for this job who. . . ." For trainers the stem was, "In the labor market your program participants are likely to enter, how would employers be influenced to hire someone who. . . ." Directions were made specific to the respondent group. In all cases this part of the instrument was self-administered.

On-the-Job Disciplinary Standards

The second dependent measure concerns perceptions of on-the-job disciplinary standards. The concept of this measure, which is similar to the previous one, is to present a set of behavioral referents about which respondents can express an evaluative opinion on the extent to which each item represents a disciplinary problem that could cause employees to lose their jobs. A Likert-type scale was developed to permit respondents to express degrees of seriousness of the problem in terms of the effect it would have on a supervisor's disciplinary actions, ranging from ignoring the behavior to firing a job incumbent immediately. The purpose of this scale is to place individuals somewhere on a continuum regarding opinions on the standard in question.

Appendix B also displays the part of the instrument used to collect data from youth on their opinions of the relative seriousness of the selected problem behaviors in regard to disciplinary standards of supervisors. Exactly the same behavioral referents and rating scales were used on the trainers' and supervisors' instruments. However, the introductory stem was changed for those respondent groups. For supervisors the stem was, "As a supervisor, what will you do the first time the employee. . . ." For trainers the stem was, "In labor markets similar to those your program participants are likely to enter, what would the supervisor do the first time an employee. . . ." Directions were made specific to the respondent groups. This part of the instrument was also self-administered.

SUMMARY AND INTERPRETATION OF THE FINDINGS

The principal focus of the research question was on how youth's perceptions of employer hiring and disciplinary standards relate to the actual standards used by employers. Specifically, we were interested in (1) the determinants of differences between youth's perceptions and their worksite supervisors' reports of those standards and (2) changes in youth's perceptions as a result of participating in vocational programs while working. The sample drawn for the analysis consisted of youth in three program areas: (1) cooperative distributive and office education (co-op) with paid work experience, (2) experience-based career education (EBCE) with one day a week of nonpaid exploratory experiences at worksites, and (3) shipbuilding apprenticeships with paid classroom and work experiences. A fourth group of secondary school youth who got jobs on their own but were not in programs (nonprogram) were included for comparison with the co-op and EBCE students.

The differences between youth's perceptions and supervisors' reports of the standards were examined according to characteristics of the employment firms, youth jobs, vocational programs, and personal characteristics of the youth themselves (e.g., demographies, prior work experience, and educational preparation). We interpreted the determinants of differences and changes in perceptions using a work socialization paradigm. Briefly, this paradigm consists of three socialization processes. The first is anticipatory socialization through which youth formed their earliest perceptions of the standards prior to becoming employed (in this case, the treatment period). The second

process takes place at entry into the workplace in which youth encounter the standards. Our pretest data tap perceptions of employer standards during the encounter phase. The third process involves change in the perceptions in response to participation at the work settings. Our posttest data reflect changes in perceptions approximately eight months after worksite entry.

Preprogram Perceptions

The most consistent and pervasive relationship observed was between preprogram perceptions of hiring and disciplinary standards and postprogram perceptions. For all groups, including nonprogram youth, the relationship was significant and positive. Similarly, the magnitude of differences between youth's perceptions and supervisors' reports of the standards at the beginning of the treatment was positively related to the magnitude of differences after approximately eight months. These relationships are evident not only in that youth's early perceptions are likely to be reinforced during the treatment period but also in that the greatest differences in perceptions of the standards are likely to remain. This suggests that the socialization that took place prior to entering the programs and work settings generally has a greater effect on the perceptions of the standards than the socialization that took place during the treatment period. Further, they suggest that perceptions formed during anticipatory socialization are rather durable and are either confirmed or reinforced during the treatment period.

No other variable was uniformly related to both hiring and disciplinary standards and to all groups in the sample. The implication here is that special attention must be given to particular characteristics of various subgroups of youth and that interventions to alter youth's perceptions must take into consideration individual characteristics if they are to be successful. An examination of the findings provides clues as to how the various personal, program, job, and firm characteristics related to the youth's perceptions.

Personal Characteristics

Of the demographic variables used in the analysis, only age seemed to be uniformly related across the sample to perceptions of hiring standards. Changes from pre- to postmeasures of perceptions of hiring standards revealed that the older the youth the less importance they attributed to the standards over time. According to our theoretical perspective, this may be less a matter of devaluing the standards than it is a matter of reporting the realities of their employment situations. As expected, differences between youth's and supervisors' perceptions of hiring standards narrowed for older youth within each program group.

Family income was also related to perceptions of hiring standards, but only for apprentices. The higher their reported family income, the greater the differences between their perceptions and those of their supervisors. This finding, although relevant to only the apprentices, is important.

Apprentices, as pointed out in the theoretical perspective, were the most likely in our sample to be expected to commit themselves deeply to employer standards. Apparently, coming from families with higher incomes permitted some latitude of self-expression in perceptions of hiring standards or, at least, no sense of urgency to adopt the supervisors' views.

Similar relationships regarding age and family income were not noted for perceptions of disciplinary standards. However, differences between youth's perceptions and supervisors' reports of disciplinary standards for the nonprogram group were greater for females than males. This relationship was not noted for females in the programs, suggesting a potentially beneficial outcome of work socialization through programs for females. Other demographic variables, notably race/ethnicity, do not at this time seem to be related to either youth's perceptions or supervisors' reports of the standards.

The relationship of academic subjects (e.g., math, English, science) is of particular interest. Taking more courses in these subject areas was significantly and positively related to youth's perceiving the hiring standards to be of greater importance. However, the more academic courses taken by co-op students (i.e., students in cooperative distributive and office education), the more likely they were to be at odds with their supervisors in regard to perceptions of hiring standards. The strong relationship of basic academic courses to perceptions of hiring standards suggests that learning from these courses may be influencing the formation of perceptions and perhaps other mental constructs associated with employability--an unintended and not necessarily undesirable outcome. No such relationships were noted between taking academic subjects and perceptions of disciplinary standards. This may be indicative of a shift in emphasis between knowing what is expected to get a job and actually experiencing on-the-job standards, in which experiential knowledge is a more salient factor in shaping perceptions of disciplinary standards.

Work experience prior to the treatment period was also related to perceptions of hiring standards. For co-op students, working longer hours per week seemed to be associated with smaller differences in perceptions between them and their supervisors on hiring standards. This relationship also held true for EBCE students (note that only model 1 of EBCE was included in the analysis), but having been paid higher wages in previous jobs was related to greater disparity in perception between youth and supervisors.

The amount of work experience prior to the treatment period, an experiential factor, was significantly related to differences between youth's perceptions and supervisors' reports of disciplinary standards. Youth in co-op and EBCE who had the most previous work experience evidenced less disparity at pretest and posttest between their perceptions and supervisors' reports of those standards. This suggests a cumulative effect of work socialization processes in which perceptions of a current experience become a reality test for perceptions formed by prior experiences. This, again, is consistent with the theoretical perspective.

The only other personal characteristic for which we found a significant relationship was the youth's reservation wage (i.e., the minimum acceptable wage for future jobs). Youth who reported lower reservation wages on the pretest tended to view disciplinary standards as less stringent than did youth with higher reservation wages. This is consistent with the proposed theoretical construct in that youth with higher reservation wages may be more motivated or predisposed to be concerned about the consequences of their on-the-job behaviors as a means of achieving that employment outcome.

The perceptions of both co-op students and apprentices with higher reservation wages were also less different from their supervisors' reports of disciplinary standards. An important observation here is that, although apprentices have higher reservation wages than other groups, the range of reservation wages was smaller. This suggests that, although monetary goals may still incline apprentices to align themselves with supervisors' disciplinary standards, they are more realistic in setting those goals, since post-program wages for apprentices are generally well known and fixed in this program.

Program Characteristics

Only two findings concerning worksite entry were evident. Participation in EBCE, as compared to not being in any program, was positively related to supervisors' reports of hiring standards. Several characteristics of that program may explain that relationship. EBCE participants rotate from one resource person (i.e., supervisor) to another many times over the year and they are not paid. The emphasis is on studying and learning about jobs one day a week rather than on taking on a worker role. This suggests that EBCE students are learning and accepting what employers expect as they make hiring decisions. Supervisors and program staff provide consultation on many matters related to work. This type of reflection seems to be an effective socialization tool in that it enlightens EBCE youth to the standards without the need for actual work experience.

The second finding concerns time spent filling out forms and becoming oriented to company rules and practices. Spending more time doing this lessened differences between co-op students' perceptions of hiring standards and supervisors' reports of those standards. This worksite activity apparently reinforces related in-class instruction received by those students. A confirmation process such as this may be instrumental in reducing discrepancies in perceptions. It also may have the effect of overconforming--an outcome we want to take note of in our follow-up phase.

As specified in our theoretical base, the duration of experiences at the worksite is likely to affect perceptions of employer standards. This relationship was evident, and it was significant and positive for all groups. Also, the more months youth spent at the worksite, the more likely they were to view hiring standards as important. However, no such relationship was evident for the number of hours per week at the worksite. Given the differences in programs (i.e., minimal exposure per week for EBCE and maximal

for apprenticeship), sustained exposure over time seemed to be more likely to ensure youth's learning their employers' standards than the intensity of those experiences. This finding would favor EBCE as an efficient option for socializing youth to hiring standards without the need for extensive workplace exposure.

Firm and Job Characteristics

It is interesting to note that firm and job characteristics (at least those used on our instruments) were not related to changes in perceptions of the hiring standards. This was not what was at first expected. This suggests to us, then, that situational factors may be less important than personal and program characteristics. However, an important job characteristic, main job duties, was not a part of the current analysis because of the time required to code that variable. We do expect that the apparent routine and low-level nature of job tasks will be related to differences in perceptions of hiring standards.

The only firm and job characteristics included in our analysis that were significantly related to differences between youth's perceptions and supervisors' reports of disciplinary standards were size of firm, cost of equipment used by the youth, and wages. For youth not in programs, being in a larger firm was related to smaller differences between their perceptions and supervisors' reports at posttest. For apprentices, working on more costly equipment was similarly related to smaller differences. Both findings suggest the apparent seriousness of disciplinary consequences in firms where unacceptable on-the-job behavior may result in a loss in productivity or profits.

Interestingly enough, receipt of higher wages received during the treatment period for all groups was related to youth's rating disciplinary standards as less stringent. This may be due to the fact that greater autonomy is usually associated with higher pay and that lower paying jobs usually involve closer supervision. This feature will bear closer inspection in future analyses, given the generally low wages of youth's jobs.

Differences between youth's perceptions and supervisors' reports of disciplinary standards were smaller for youth who stayed longer on the job. The number of hours worked per week did not seem to be related. This suggests that the length of exposure to the standards is of greater importance than the intensity of those experiences. Since the finding on duration applies to all program groups, reducing the gap between youth's perceptions and those of supervisors can be achieved just as effectively by the minimal and multiple exposures provided by EBCE as by the more intensive exposure afforded co-op students and apprentices.

Employer Standards

Analysis of the specific items related to hiring and disciplinary standards revealed that the youth in this sample had accurate perceptions of

many of the standards as reported by their supervisors. However, there were significant differences ($\leq .001$) in the sample at large between youth and their supervisors on a number of the items, and these differences remained even after the work experience period. While the differences were significant, they were not large. That is, if the supervisors rated an item as highly important, for example, the youth also tended to rate it that way. Therefore, the discrepancies between the two groups were not greatly disparate. What is interesting to note is the pattern of change in the youth's perceptions. The data are displayed in tables 1 and 2.

Hiring Standards

Youth's perceptions were generally in agreement with supervisors' reports on thirteen of the twenty-seven hiring standards. This agreement was evident at pretest, and there were no significant changes observed after the treatment period. Both respondent groups attributed moderate importance to these agreed-upon items for hiring decisions. However, the items for which there were significant differences occurred more often at the extremes of the importance continuum.

Youth perceived seven hiring standards as less important than their supervisors' reports of those standards. On two items highly rated by supervisors, "giving false information on the applications" and "not being able to read," youth's perceptions became more like the supervisors' reports. Similarly, an item of moderate importance to youth, "being confused by simple questions at an interview," showed a decrease in the discrepancy at posttest. However, a different pattern was observed on four items that supervisors valued more highly than youth. On a highly rated item, "having been convicted of a marijuana possession," youth attributed even less importance to that standard at posttest, viewing it as only moderately important. Two items of moderate importance, "not having completed high school" and "having been absent often at school," and an item of low importance, "having been 15% less productive on the last job," showed a similar pattern. The increased devaluing of these standards, especially the more highly rated ones, could cause youth with such perceptions difficulty in obtaining jobs where the standard in question is of critical importance in the hiring decision.

The hiring standards that youth perceived as more important than their supervisors tended to cluster in the lower rated categories. Although it is uncertain whether attributing more importance to a standard could cause problems in obtaining employment, it may be that youth could be valuing these less important standards at the expense of the standards that employers value more highly. The four items youth rated significantly as higher than their supervisors at both pre- and posttest were as follows:

- Having taken vocational education courses
- Asking for $.25 an hour more than the job pays
- Never having worked before
- Having only done odd jobs at previous work experience

TABLE 1

HIRING STANDARDS

Rank	Item Description	Employer Mean	Time 1 Stu/Employr Difference	Time 2 Stu/Employr Difference
1	Gave false information on appli.	6.49	-.40**	-.29**
2	Looked clean/neat at interview	6.30	.03	.19**
3	Couldn't read a newspaper	6.19	-.47**	-.40**
4	Convicted marijuana possession	6.04	-.43**	-.65**
5	Job application-neat/correct	5.88	.2[illegible]**	.15**
6	Asked many questions at interview	5.[illegible]2	-.12	-.04
7	Job resume with application	5.77	.14	.34**
8	Had not completed high school	5.77	-.42**	-.55**
9	Called employer after interview	5.74	.18*	.10
10	Got A's and B's in math courses	5.72	-.23*	-.22*
11	Absent 12 times last year from work	5.62	-.29*	-.26*
12	Not trying-15% less product-last job	5.60	-.19*	-.20*
13	Previous employer would rehire	5.46	-.27*	-.27*
14	Training but no experience	5.39	-.04	-.02
15	Confused by simple question	5.39	-.34**	-.25**
16	Late for interview appointment	5.33	-.05	-.00
17	Had 3 jobs in last 6 months	5.30	.04	-.11
18	Had taken voc ed in high school	5.18	.33**	.25**
19	Understood beginner does boring work	5.06	-.16	-.13
20	Used poor grammar when speaking	5.00	.00	.01
21	Absent 12 times last school year	4.97	-.35**	-.41**
22	Tries-15% less product-last job	4.57	-.38**	-.42**
23	Late 3 times last year from work	4.54	-.20*	-.20*
24	Just completed a CETA job	4.49	.15*	.18*
25	Asked for 25¢ more than job pays	4.22	.73**	.61**
26	Had never worked before	4.19	.23*	.24**
27	Only jobs-lawnmowing, babysitting,	3.89	.31**	.33**

* = $\leq$ 0.05
** = $\leq$ 0.001

TABLE 2

DISCIPLINARY STANDARDS

Rank	Item Description	Employer Mean	Time 1 Stu/Employr Difference	Time 2 Stu/Employr Difference
1	Shows up for work drunk or stoned	5.14	-.36**	-.61**
2	More hours recorded than worked	4.88	-.55**	-.29**
3	Refuses to do a job "beneath dig."	4.33	-.31*	-.49**
4	Doesn't try is 15% less productive	3.72	-.11	-.12
5	Doesn't call in when sick	3.64	.01	-.05
6	Causes $100 of damage to equipment	3.43	.29**	.14*
7	Is 20 minutes late-no good excuse	3.30	.25**	.14*
8	Extra hour break time-work finished	3.25	-.32**	-.40**
9	Can't read written directions	3.24	.09	.06
10	Spends 15 minutes on phone calls	3.21	.21*	.08
11	Misses 2 days work first month	3.15	-.08	-.16*
12	Gets into argument with coworkers	3.03	.14*	.07
13	Needs twice as much supervision	2.97	.11	.07
14	Acts angry/sulks when criticized	2.95	-.11	-.07
15	Finishes work but asks for no new w	2.94	-.05	-.23**
16	Makes many mistakes adding,	2.84	.17*	-.20**
17	Speaks poorly coworkers can't under.	2.81	-.14*	-.15*
18	Doesn't write phone messages well	2.70	-.11	-.03
19	Gripes about working conditions	2.70	-.31**	-.23**
20	Tries but 15% less productive	2.63	-.29**	-.31**
21	Wears flashy/sexy clothes	2.57	-.32**	-.18*
22	Takes twice as long to learn job	2.57	-.11	-.28**
23	Comes to work dirty and sloppy	2.53	-.07	-.04
24	Makes mistakes in spelling, grammar,	2.50	-.15*	-.10
25	Seems not to be trying no less prod.	2.49	-.27**	-.36**

* = $\leq$ 0.05
** = $\leq$ 0.001

All of these items were standards rated eighteenth or lower in importance by supervisors. The youth's ratings of these items remained about the same or tended to become more similar to the supervisors' ratings at posttest. The item that stands out in this cluster is "asking for $.25 an hour more than the job pays." This item revealed the greatest discrepancy between youth and supervisors on either scale. Perhaps this suggests that youth are overreacting to a rather "adult" notion that asking for more than the job pays could jeopardize their chances for getting jobs.

The three items rated by supervisors as being relatively important to them evoke an interesting pattern. At pretest youth were aligned with supervisors on two items. However, at posttest youth's ratings were significantly higher on these items, suggesting that experience at the workplace had communicated that these standards are important. It appears, then, that youth are even more likely to "be clean and neat at the interview," "and attach resumes to job applications."

Disciplinary Standards

As in the case of hiring standards, youth were in agreement with their supervisors on about half of the items in this category. However, for the thirteen items on which their perceptions were significantly different, a clear but disturbing pattern emerged. Youth perceived eight of these items to be less serious than did supervisors at pretest, and even less so at posttest. Their perceptions on two other items were more like the supervisors' at posttest, but significant differences still remained. The ten items for which significant undervaluing of the standards remained at posttest were as follows:

- Showing up drunk or stoned
- Recording more hours on time sheet than actually worked
- Refusing to do undesirable work tasks
- Taking an extra hour of break time
- Finishing work but not asking for more
- Making many mistakes in computation
- Griping about working conditions
- Being 15 percent less productive but trying
- Taking twice as long to learn a job
- Not seeming to try but no less productive

On only three of the discrepant items did youth's perceptions become more in line with supervisors' ratings. These were "wearing flashy or sexy clothing," "causing $100 damage to equipment," and "being twenty minutes late without a good excuse." However, youth perceived the latter two as more important than did their supervisors at pretest.

IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A central purpose of this study was to gain insights for education and training programs so they can increase the employability of the youth

they serve. One way to do this is to focus on the seventeen hiring and disciplinary standards that youth consistently undervalued. These items can be classified into three categories of concern to educators and trainers: (1) basic academic skills, (2) work attitudes and personal characteristics, and (3) productivity. Table 3 displays our categorization of the items.

Taken as a group, the items on basic academic skills reflect the employers' concern with youth being competent in applying fundamental school learning in a work setting. From this we infer that the transferability of school learning to learning on the job is essential for success in the workplace. This is what employers have been saying for some time and is generally well known. However, closer scrutiny of the items in this category seems to suggest that misperceptions of the importance of basic skills may actually be more critical in hiring decisions than on the job itself. This further suggests that employers are now likely to screen out youth who cannot demonstrate that they have competence in these areas at the point of hiring. Therefore, in addition to stressing the importance of acquiring basic skills, educators must provide practice in application beyond traditional classroom exercises. Youth seem to understand the relative importance of other items on basic skills, such as "being able to speak clearly," and "write comprehensible messages" and "getting good grades in math." However, they do not seem to make the connection between real-life performance indicators (which some might call functional literacy) and their importance to jobs. Schools can help them do this by making such insights explicit and developing ability and facility in relating basic skills to work activities. This help should be provided not only by the teaching staff but also the counseling staff, since they are in a position to help youth link schooling to the workplace.

Almost half of the misperceived standards are related to work attitudes and personal characteristics. The implications here are strongest for vocational guidance. By not recognizing the severity of problems represented by the items in this category, youth could be severely limiting their employability. Again this seems to be a matter of helping youth see connections between their attitudes and related behaviors and employment outcomes. The fact that youth tend to attribute even less importance to these standards after vocational programs and work experiences underscores this dilemma. Further, it points out that occupational knowledge and work experience alone, although necessary, are insufficient for grasping the importance of the standards. Youth need opportunities expressly designed to relate what is taught in classrooms to their work experiences. This can be done by increasing educators' awareness of the relative importance of employer standards and by providing planned activities for reflection and integration of knowledge and experience. It should not be surprising to anyone that employers consider these items important. What is surprising is that youth continue to misperceive that importance.

The final category concerns productivity. Since it is well known that employers decry the poor productivity of youth, it is important for educators and trainers to give special attention to this problem. And this must go beyond such platitudes as "giving the employer a day's work for a day's pay"! Instilling habits of industry in youth is by no means a new topic, but what

TABLE 3

STANDARDS UNDERVALUED BY YOUTH
BY CONTENT AREAS

CONTENT AREA	HIRING STANDARDS	DISCIPLINARY STANDARDS
Basic Academic Skills	(+) Not being able to read a newspaper	( ) Making many mistakes in computation
	(+) Being confused by simple questions in the interview	( ) Taking twice as long to learn a job
	(+) Not having completed high school	
Work Attitudes and Personal Characteristics	(+) Providing false information on job application	(+) Recording more hours on time sheets than actually worked
	(+) Having been convicted for marijuana possession	(+) Showing up for work drunk or stoned
	( ) Having been absent 12 times during last school year	( ) Not seeming to try but no less productive
		(+) Refusing to do undesirable work tasks
		( ) Griping about working conditions
Productivity	( ) Having been 15% less productive on last job	( ) Being 15% less productive but trying
		(+) Finishing work but not asking for more
		(+) Taking an extra hour of break time

(+) Higher concern for employer
( ) Lower concern for employer

measures do schools explicitly employ to accomplish this goal? A dual effort to remedy this situation appears to be needed. First, specific teaching and learning activities need to be developed to teach youth how to be more productive. This type of productivity training--and that is what youth should recognize it as--could easily be integrated into many areas of the curriculum. The specific intent of this training should be to help youth obtain optimum results from efficient use of their time. There is probably not a teacher alive who does not encourage students to make good use of their time. The problem for youth is not merely to recognize that they need to make good use of time but how to go about doing it. Students properly guided in time management activities, for example, could learn many strategies for improving the quantity and quality of their achievements.

The second strategy schools could consider to improve youth's productivity is more problematic because it concerns attitudes that schools may be teaching indirectly. What do students learn about productivity when they receive A's for mediocre work? Or when they can skip classes because they believe they are not missing anything important. Or when they are passed from grade to grade without even meeting minimum competency levels? Obviously, the attack on such pervasive problems will require a united front on the part of the entire school and the community at large--an effort that will require considerable administrative leadership and commitment from the staff.

NEXT STEPS

The findings to date lead us to the tentative conclusion that youth's perceptions of hiring and disciplinary standards are a critical factor in youth employability. However, the very preliminary nature of the analysis and deficiencies in the data preclude any firm conclusions in that regard. The findings resulting from the initial set of models have generated a number of hypotheses regarding the role of perceptions in work socialization. These specific hypotheses will be tested in subsequent analyses.

The relationship of perceptions to employment outcomes has not been explored at this time. Outcome data to be collected in the next phase (fiscal year 1983) will permit such analyses. We also are exploring the possibility of collecting additional data from employers of youth in the sample in order to remove some of the limitations imposed by the existing data set.

In addition to collecting employment outcome data, two new related studies are being planned. The purpose of this research is to provide greater insight into employability development patterns by enriching existing quantitative data sets with ethnographic analyses of employed and nonemployed youth. The multiple research methodologies utilized in this study over a two-year period will afford a unique perspective on the work socialization processes and patterns of youth. By simultaneously investigating employed and nonemployed youth over time, we plan to discover salient factors in the lives of these youth (especially schooling and work experience) that lead to successful, self-sustaining employment or to chronic nonemployment among

youth. The particular emphasis of this investigation is on policies and practices that will help schools become more effective in preparing youth for work and in reversing the accrual of negative deficits experienced by so many disadvantaged youth.

APPENDIX A

PROGRAM PROFILES

PROGRAM PROFILE

PROGRAM: Apprentice School

TYPE: Shipbuilding apprenticeship

LOCATION: Southeast

DESCRIPTION: The Apprentice School is an operating department of a major shipbuilding company and is fully supported by the company itself. All apprenticeships offered equal or surpass state and federal standards for apprentice certificates and are registered with the state Apprenticeship Council and the U.S. Department of Labor's Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training. The Apprentice School is accredited by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, Commission on Occupational Education Institutions. To be considered for admission an applicant must have a high school education with at least four units in any combination of the following: physics, chemistry, drawing, shop, algebra, geometry, and advanced mathematics; must be physically able to perform the duties required in the designated trade; must have a good reputation in the community (and the company must be able to obtain the proper security clearance); and must be at least age eighteen but not older than age twenty-four at the commencement of the apprenticeship. Training is given in the following crafts: electrician, forger and heat treater, heavy metal fabricator, insulation worker, joiner, machinist, millwright, molder, mold loftsworker, outside machinist, painter-decorator, patternmaker, pipefitter, rigger, sheet metal worker, shipfitter, and welder. Training is in two categories: vocational and academic. Vocational training consists of instruction and practice on a full range of essential trade tasks in a planned job rotation. Academic instruction provides support to shop training as well as the basic general subject material for potential retraining in new fields. Instructors are qualified craftsworkers, educators, and engineers. During a four-year apprenticeship an apprentice can expect to earn in excess of $63,000. Apprentices are paid for all work, including time spent in class. The regular work week is forty hours. There is no tuition charge for the program.

PURPOSE: The school's function is to contribute to the profitability and growth of the company by recruiting, training, and developing young men and women for careers in shipbuilding. The school seeks to provide the company with a continuous supply of journeypersons who possess not only skills, knowledge, and pride of workmanship but also the educational foundation and personal qualities that they will require to meet fully the challenges of a shipbuilding career.

PROGRAM PROFILE

PROGRAM: Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA): Youth Employment and Training Program

TYPE: School-based, CETA-funded employment and training

LOCATION: Middle Atlantic states, urban center

DESCRIPTION: This alternative education program is for youth who have dropped out of school or are potential dropouts. The program is cosponsored by the mayor's Office of Manpower Resources (the contractor) and the city public schools (the subcontractor). The primary responsibility for administration and operations belongs to the city public schools. Although the success of the program ultimately rests with the city public schools, because of the unique mixture of educational and employment features of the program, the Mayor's Office of Manpower Resources (MOMR) works closely with the city public schools, especially in the planning and employment areas.

To be in this vocational program the participant must be reading at least at the sixth grade level as measured by the California Achievement Test. Clients are grouped in academic tracts. These academic tracts are remediation (those focusing on functional proficiencies), academic (those enrolled in a one-year credit diploma tract), and GED, which is also a maximum of one year in duration. Remediation clients who succeed in improving their reading skill levels to the eighth grade reading level within a two-trimester period may transfer to the GED tract, in which they would be allowed to participate for an additional three trimesters. Work experience is provided in public and private nonprofit settings. These settings are catagorized in two ways. "Scattered sites" are worksites in which the host agency provides direct supervision of the work experience activity. "Projects" are sites in which MOMR provides supervisory staff to instruct and supervise the youth in their work experience. The youth alternate back and forth between the classroom and the workplace every two weeks throughout the course of the school year, with the expectation that the youth will obtain a high school diploma or a high school equivalency. Youth are then moved to a postsecondary school, to a training program such as in licensed practical nursing, or into unsubsidized employment. By having already had the experience of working in a particular local hospital or medical institution, perhaps for as long as two years, the chances are quite good that the youth will be picked up by that institution for permanent, unsubsidized employment.

PURPOSE: The program offers assistance to those in need of employability services and most able to benefit from them. It assists clients in developing skills necessary for self-reliance, particularly

in relation to job search. It encourages employers to emphasize what the participants can become as a result of services and training offered and to deemphasize the past experiences of the participants. The educational goals for the participants are to obtain a high school diploma, to pass the GED examination, or to improve their functional reading level, depending upon their designated curriculum. The placement goal is that all completers will obtain an unsubsidized placement or other positive termination (such as high school diploma, GED, return to school, transfer to other programs), or will meet grade level improvement through remediation.

PROGRAM PROFILE

PROGRAM: Cooperative Office Education

TYPE: Cooperative vocational education

LOCATION: Middle West, urban center, public high schools

DESCRIPTION: The one-year Cooperative Office Education (COE) program provides students with an excellent opportunity to gain valuable supervised experience through cooperation between the schools and business. COE students frequently remain with the cooperating company after graduation, or students may continue advanced training at a four-year university or a two-year technical college. Students spend ninety minutes daily in the COE classroom-laboratory. Students may elect another course in business education. Most trainees attend school one-half day and work at a job station for the remainder of the day. Students receive a total of three and one-half credits for the COE program. Students must have an interest in pursuing an office career and they must have developed a skill acceptable for employment before entering grade twelve. Youth clubs are an integral part of the curriculum. They provide an opportunity to deal with leadership development, social understanding (human relations), and civic responsibilities. Through membership in the Office Education Association, students are able to participate in local, regional, state, and national competitive events and conventions.

PURPOSE: The program is planned for students who have developed their skills to a level that is acceptable for employment in a business office at the beginning of grade twelve. The purpose of this program is to provide an opportunity for on-the-job experience during the senior year.

PROGRAM PROFILE

PROGRAM: Distributive Education

TYPE: Cooperative vocational education

LOCATION: Middle West, urban center, public high schools

DESCRIPTION: Students enrolled in this one-year Distributive Education (DE) program participate in on-the-job training at area retailers, wholesalers, and service-selling businesses. Upon graduation, students have the opportunity to seek full-time employment in a distributive occupation or may choose to continue their education at a technical or college level in business administration, marketing, or related fields. Specific job opportunities exist in the following areas: retail and wholesale buying, insurance, receiving and shipping, sales, display, advertising, and other levels of management and marketing. DE consists of ninety minutes of related classroom study in marketing and distribution and two periods of required courses. Students are dismissed early in the day to report to their training stations for on-the-job training. Some high schools offer one period of classroom study in marketing and distribution in the junior year. Students earn three and one-half credits for the DE program upon completion of their senior year. Some of the topics covered are: sales, advertising, human relations, consumerism, economics, communications, marketing, free enterprise, credit, management, mathematics, and merchandising. Students should be business oriented, have an excellent attendance record, and be willing to be employed while learning. An integral part of the DE program is the Distributive Education Clubs of America (DECA), which is a local, state, and national organization for DE students. DECA is a cocurricular activity aimed at developing leadership, professional attitudes, better citizenship characteristics, and social growth of the individual.

PURPOSE: The program is designed for students considering a career in retailing, wholesaling, and service-selling businesses. The primary objective of the program is to prepare youth for full-time employment in the distributive occupations--selling, marketing, merchandising, and other occupations concerned with the flow of goods from the producer to the consumer.

PROGRAM PROFILE

PROGRAM: Experience-based Career Education: Model 1

TYPE: Community-based career exploration

LOCATION: Northeast, urban center, alternative high school program within a comprehensive high school

DESCRIPTION: This experience-based career education (EBCE) program is open to all students of an urban high school in grades nine through twelve. Of 4,000 students, approximately 250 participate in this program. The program was developed in cooperation with Research for Better Schools; the local school district; the chamber of commerce; and over 100 individuals representing community agencies, businesses, and labor unions. The program is organized around three instructional components: academic courses, career guidance, and career development. In combination with courses offered by the comprehensive high school, the program offers a curriculum that is responsive to the academic, personal, and vocational needs of students. The academic resource center is an individualized instructional system. The center focuses primarily on English and mathematics, providing multipurpose work space for students to use as they develop skills suited to career goals and ability levels. The guidance component assists students in making the transition from traditional classes to the program and from the classroom to the community. The career development component provides students with realistic settings in which to learn about people and their work, to supplement in-school knowledge and skills, to obtain some experiences in career opportunities, and to test interests in different fields. This component consists of exploration and specialization one day a week in the community. Exploration is a career awareness activity in which group instruction is combined with individual learning projects conducted in the community. Specialization provides students opportunities for in-depth study of a work interest area by means of student-negotiated projects. "Experience-based" is not synonymous with "on-the-job training." Instead of learning about one job on one site, students rotate among as many as fifteen sites to learn about as many career possibilities as they can. While learning by doing, students learn how theory is applied in real life by studying traditional subject matter in new ways. Students are not paid for workplace experiences.

PURPOSE: EBCE is designed to help youth know themselves better by refining their interests, abilities, and values in order to develop realistic and obtainable career and life goals; learn that basic skills in communications and mathematics are essential and relevant for accomplishing their career and personal goals; gain a broad understanding of the world of work--its relevancies, rewards, and shortcomings--by learning what they can expect from

it and what it will require of them; build decision-making skills needed to put what they have learned together with what they want to be; and discover that the adult world is not simply an "establishment" but is made up of many different people with their own goals, values, and personal characteristics.

ATTRIBUTES NEEDED TO GET A JOB

BASED ON THE KINDS OF JOBS YOU MIGHT APPLY FOR, HOW WOULD EMPLOYERS BE INFLUENCED TO HIRE SOMEONE WHO. . .	very positively	positively	somewhat positively	not at all	somewhat negatively	negatively	would not hire	
1. Looked clean and neat at the interview?	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	NA
2. Gave false information on job application?	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	NA
3. Asked many questions about the job or the company during the interview?	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	NA
4. Understood that a beginner sometimes does boring and low-level work tasks?	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	NA
5. Couldn't read a newspaper?	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	NA
6. Got confused when asked a simple question?	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	NA
7. Used poor grammar when speaking?	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	NA
8. Filled out a job application in a neat and correct manner?	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	NA
9. Called employer after interview to show interest in getting the job?	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	NA
10. Was late for interview appointment?	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	NA
11. Attached a complete job resume to application?	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	NA
12. Asked for 25 cents an hour more than the job normally pays?	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	
13. Got A's and B's in all math courses?	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	NA
14. Had not completed high school?	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	NA
15. Had never worked before?	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	NA
16. Had 3 jobs in last 6 months?	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	NA
17. Had just completed a CETA job?	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	NA
18. Had a previous employer who would rehire him or her?	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	NA
19. Was convicted for possession of marijuana?	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	NA
20. Had only done jobs like lawnmowing, babysitting, and delivering newspapers?	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	NA
21. Was absent 12 different times in his/her last school year?	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	NA
22. Had taken vocational education curriculum in high school?	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	NA
23. Had training in the job skills needed for this job but no experience?	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	NA
24. Was 15% less productive than other workers in his/her last job because he/she wasn't trying?	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	NA
25. Was late for work 3 times last year?	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	NA
26. Was absent from work 12 different times last year?	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	NA
27. Was 15% less productive than other workers in last job even though he/she was trying?	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	NA

ATTRIBUTES NEEDED TO KEEP A JOB

BASED ON YOUR EXPERIENCES, WHAT WILL YOUR SUPERVISOR DO THE FIRST TIME AN EMPLOYEE. . .

		ignore	discuss it per site	[illegible] immediately	[illegible]	[illegible]	fire immediately	
1.	Wears flashy or sexy clothes to work?	a	b	c		e		NA
2.	Comes to work dirty and sloppy?	a	b	c	c	e	f	NA
3.	Shows up for work drunk or stoned?	a	b	c	d	e	f	NA
4.	Acts angry or sulks when criticized?	a	b	c	d	e	f	NA
5.	Gripes about working conditions like short coffee breaks or working unpopular shifts?	a	b	c	d	e	f	NA
6.	Gets into an argument with coworkers?	a	b	c	d	e	f	NA
7.	Puts more hours on time sheet than actually worked?	a	b	c	d	e	f	NA
8.	Refuses to do a job because it is undesirable or "beneath his/her dignity?"	a	b	c	d	e	f	NA
9.	Can't read written directions to complete a job?	a	b	c	d	e	f	NA
10.	Doesn't write telephone messages or memos that are easy to understand?	a	b	c	d	e	f	NA
11.	Makes many mistakes in spelling, grammar, and punctuation?	a	b	c	d	e	f	NA
12.	Speaks so poorly that coworkers can't understand what is being said?	a	b	c	d	e	f	NA
13.	Makes many mistakes adding, subtracting, multiplying, or dividing numbers?	a	b	c	d	e	f	NA
14.	Tries but takes twice as long as other workers to learn a new job?	a	b	c	d	e	f	NA
15.	Tries but is 15% less productive than other workers with the same training?	a	b	c	d	e	f	NA
16.	Doesn't try and is 15% less productive than other workers with the same training?	a	b	c	d	e	f	NA
17.	Seems not to be trying but is no less productive than other workers?	a	b	c	d	e	f	NA
18.	Takes an extra hour of break time but finishes assigned work anyway?	a	b	c	d	e	f	NA
19.	Misses 2 different days of work the first month?	a	b	c	d	e	f	NA
20.	Doesn't call in when sick?	a	b	c	d	e	f	NA
21.	Is 20 minutes late to work and has no good excuse?	a	b	c	d	e	f	NA
22.	Causes $100 of damage to a piece of equipment?	a	b	c	d	e	f	NA
23.	Spends 15 minutes making personal telephone calls during one work day?	a	b	c	d	e	f	NA
24.	Needs twice as much supervision as others?	a	b	c	d	e	f	NA
25.	Finishes work assigned but does not report back to superior for more work?	a	b	c	d	e	f	NA

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